what to its impressiveness.

After the last song is the proper time for validating young relatives of the donor as mourners. One of the miniature totem-poles, which are light enough to be carried in the hands, is brought from the back room and and ~~xxxdad~~ given to the boy on whom this prerogative is being conferred. A fluent speaker explains the meanings of the designs so displayed and enough of the family's ancestral history to make clear whence, and how, they were obtained. The singers begin to beat time, slowly and the youth endeavours to keep time with his feet, while he continues to hold the pole.

Meanwhile the donor and his immediate relatives have been arranging the piles of presents with the inevitable counting and recounting. As at a potlatch, a fluent speaker is commissioned to hold up the objects, state whence they have been obtained, to whom they are going, and for what purpose. He says, for example:

"Fifty skins become nothing on the path of Käliäkɨs."

Everyone knows that this means the expenditure of that amount for the singing of a mourning song in connection with the myth in which Kaliak s appears. Gifts must be given for each song and it is the ~~xxxxxxx~~ desire of the donor that they be of fitting value. So too is the validation of professional mourners confirmed. ~~xxxxx~~ The goods having thus been displayed, a first distribution, called "Tears" with reference to the donor's grief, is made, each guest receiving a gift of the same ~~xxxx~~ worth. It is not returnable, being the legalization of the ceremony he has just witnessed. This is followed by donations to the carpenters, the singers, the professional mourners, and all other who have rendered assistance; in essence, these ~~gifts~~ are pay, though they are ~~never~~ always referred to as ~~other than except~~ free-will gifts as ~~returns~~, for made in gratitude, for ~~the~~ services ~~they have~~ rendered. Like the last, they are not returnable. Finally, any goods remaining from the store that has been brought out are given ~~xxxxxxxxxx~~ to chiefs and other influential members of the audience. Though not clearly stated, the recipients know that these are really investment-presents; when they repay, they mention that they are reciprocating a gift made at a memorial potlatch. A plentiful meal is now served, during which several chiefs make complimentary speeches and the gathering breaks up.

In former times, when features of the potlatch were banned from a memorial pot-

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latch, the ceremony just described was the central point of the proceedings. It was the public ~~xxxxxx~~ singing of the journey taken by his deceased relative which alleviated the donor's sorrow and filled him with pride. A few days ~~later~~ after, in the late afternoon, the heralds called back the guests and the songs were sung and re-sung. Miniature totem-poles were not used, nor were professional mourners in evidence; the sole function of the gathering was to provide opportunity for learning the songs. They were repeated until far into the night when a large meal was served and the guests departed. A few days later the same ritual was ~~xxxxxxx~~ carried out again, with a similar lavish distribution of food. This was often done at intervals of two or three days for several weeks, depending on how much food the donor ~~xxx~~ was prepared to use. The amount required was so great that the rite was considered more difficult that a potlatch.

As already described, however, it has been customary for almost fifty years to incorporate features of the potlatch into one of a memorial nature. In such cases the first singing of the mourning songs with display of marks by the professional mourners is as ~~xxxxxx~~ just recorded, but there is no recalling of the guests merely to listen once more to the songs. Instead, the ritual differs but slightly from that of an ~~xxxxx~~ ordinary potlatch as described in Chapter IV. An occasion is found to conduct the guests to the memorial-posts erected, and to inform them of the significances of the designs depicted. This same practice has been continued since the introduction of tomb-stones and the meaning of the writing upon them interpreted. The entry of the deceased in form of his kwa~~l~~ltuta and the subsequent use of a copper is the same as already recorded. This is frequently followed by the singing of a sisaok mourning song if one of the near relatives

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~~deceased~~ owns this prerogative of foreign origin. If so, he walks slowly around the fire in a wide circle, shaking his rattle, and singing, unaccompanied by the singers. Most, if not all of these songs are in the Bella Bella language and the right to use one has in every case been obtained through intermarriage with a member of that tribe. At intervals, ~~chiefs~~ heralds keep calling out:

"Listen to the chief's lament." (1)

When presents are distributed to validate the whole ceremony, mention is always made of the different features for which they ~~are~~ were given. As at a potlatch, the most important ~~purpose is to validate~~ the return of the ~~deceased~~ dead, but at a memorial potlatch another ~~important~~ essential is the display ~~is~~ of the memorial-posts. These have been ~~carved~~, painted and set up, but are worthless unless validated by presents, and the greater the number of ~~these~~ the, the greater ~~is~~ the value of the memorial. ~~In view of the detailed~~ description given in Chapter IV, ~~Nothing further need be said either on~~ added concerning this point, or ~~concerning~~ other rites, to the detailed

Psychologically, the memorial potlatch is of tremendous importance. There may be a vague feeling that the ritual is of actual assistance of the deceased since ~~the~~ grease burnt at it reaches him, and is of service, ~~to him~~, but such a belief is no more than ~~an~~ an intangible sentiment of no importance in the lives of the people. Quite otherwise is its effect on the survivors, especially on the donor. A memorial potlatch is considered the fitting tribute of respect to a chief, and if none of his near relatives should hold one, they would ~~brand themselves as unmindful of the~~ brand themselves as unmindful of the fame of ~~nity, unworthy~~ their dead kinsman. In recent years the white man's law has prohibited the potlatch but, ~~though unually obeyed,~~ chiefs have often preferred to go to jail rather than forego ~~a memorial potlatch.~~ this form of memorial. ~~This point~~ The reason for this cannot be explained better than in the words of a worthy old ~~Bella Coola~~ man whose only daughter, a chieftainess, died during the writer's sojourn in Bella Coola. He determined to hold a memorial potlatch and expressed ~~his reason~~ himself to his adopted son, the writer, as follows:

"If I should fail to do what is right under the circumstances, to do what my

(1). There is no reason why this should not be performed at a potlatch, but the writer never heard of an instance of its performance.

ancestors would have done, my heart would be dead, dead as my daughter. But if I call the people, if we sing mourning songs for my child, I will be able to bear my grief. I shall have done what is right, and will be able to hold up my head with anyone, knowing that the rites have been performed for my child which are her due as a chief. If I allow her to be ~~buried~~ neglected, I should be ashamed and miserable. Jim (another chief) warned me of when I first told him of my intention that the law forbade such ceremonies. I cannot help that. If I am sent to jail, to jail shall I go. I would rather have that happen than that my daughter should not receive fitting treatment as a chief."

In this case ~~the~~ abbreviated rites were performed, which unquestionably lessened ~~at and abolishment of~~ the father's grief. The writer observed ~~him~~ on several occasions that the performance of this proper ritual ~~had a great influence on~~ helped to assuage a mourner's sorrow. Not only does it comfort a man to know that he has ~~paid~~ shown fitting respect to the dead, there is also ~~the~~ a gain in social prestige ~~gained by this.~~ As the whole community respects, and admires, and sometimes envies a man for having carried out a memorial potlatch, there is no doubt that ~~this~~ he is pleased and gratified ~~him~~ to such an extent that ~~it dulls~~ is dulled his sorrow. These two factors must constantly be kept in mind; ~~in connection with~~ memorial potlatches, ~~they~~ serve to commemorate the dead, but in so doing thus add to the social importance of the donors. The two combine to bring considerable comfort to the chief who has lost a dear relative. In some cases the social prestige is the real motive, the grief assumed and unimportant; but in ~~many~~ others the latter is the only factor that matters and a chief is entirely oblivious to any increase in his own status. In most memorial potlatches, both feelings are present in the mind of the donor, and both are ~~fulfilled.~~ gratified.

Detailed Account of a Funeral.

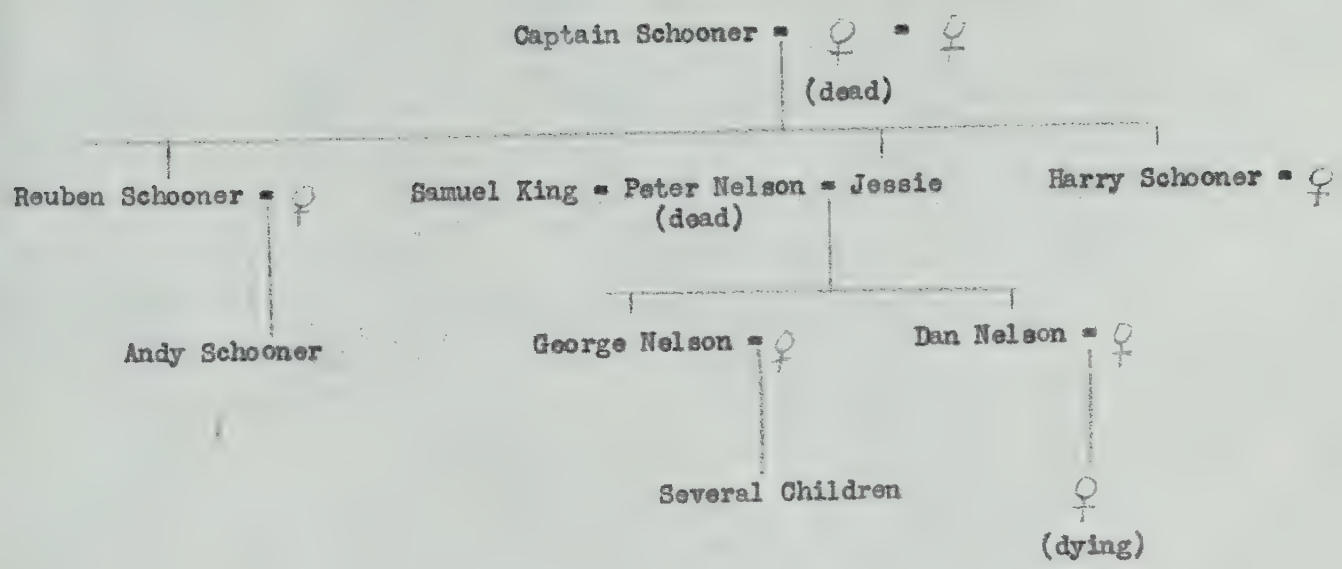
The primary aim of all anthropological field-work is to obtain accounts of native customs, particularly of those which antedated the spread of European civilization. ~~An attempt has been made in this chapter to describe Bella Coola practices and beliefs~~

In addition, much information of value both to anthropologist and psychologist may be obtained from a study of changes resulting from the contact of aboriginal with foreign culture. In the preceding pages, an attempt has been made to describe the death rites of the Bella Coola as practised before the coming of the white man. The following section comprises a detailed account of the funeral ceremonies witnessed by the writer in 1922. By contrasting these with the ones already recorded, the reader will be able to form his own conclusions with regard to alterations in custom, as well as concerning the conservatism and adaptability of the Bella Coola in this respect. The following account will also serve to demonstrate a point repeatedly mentioned, the manner in which business tranactions and arrangements of all kinds take place whenever the people have been called together.

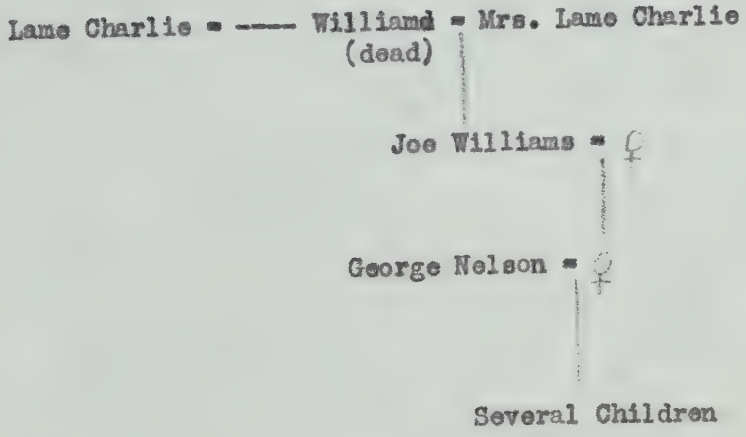
On June 27th, 1922, the death occurred in Bella Coola of Jessie, Mrs. Samuel King, daughter of Captain Schooner. The latter, now deceased, was one of the writer's most tried and trusted friends, and as a result of this friendship it was possible not only to attend the actual rites, but to ascertain much of the sentiment underlying them. This advantage had its draw-backs, since it was manifestly impossible to question the husband of the woman too closely. The details will stet be described, in spite of some departures entailed thereby, customs surviving, both to record the decay of Bella Coola ritual, and as a means of illustrating the sentiments of the participants. To avoid native terminology, white man's names will be used throughout. It will be necessary to understand the relationships of those taking part in the ceremony, as shown in the following pedigrees.—

Pedigree I.

Pedigree I. (1)



Pedigree II. (1)



Samuel King was a widower with one daughter at the time of his marriage to Jessie, by whom he had ~~had~~ no children. His step-son, George Nelson, had not been living with his wife for about one year as she had become a public prostitute.

Early in the afternoon of June 27th Captain Schooner was notified by telephone of the serious illness of his daughter at the cannery where she was working. He set out immediately, but found her dead on his arrival. Without waiting to consult Samuel

(1). No attempt has been made to record the complete pedigree, only those ~~taking part~~ who took part in the ceremony are indicated.

King, he called together the chiefs who happened to be ~~present~~ in the vicinity, Willie Mack, Jim Pollard, Billy Pollard, Bobby Nebby and Alexander Clallaman.(1) He informed them that he did not propose to let his daughter be thrown carelessly into the ground like a dog, but that he was going to ~~summon this expense~~ hold a memorial potlatch immediately after the funeral. Schooner, being a numitl chief as well as father of the dead woman, was able to do as he liked and no one objected to this plan although in former times such a ceremony ~~never~~ neither took place ~~immediately~~ at once, ~~especially~~ nor in summer. If Samuel had been present, he would have been consulted as a matter of course. It was quite fitting for Jessie to be buried by her father since she had borne her husband no children, and had been "re-bought" several times. Moreover, Samuel lacked the determination and prestige of his father-in-law. Having settled this main point, ~~Mr~~ Captain Schooner ~~went on~~ intimated that as Jessie's granddaughter, Dan Nelson's infant, was at the point of death, it would be well to combine the mourning for both at the single ceremony. No mention was made of the amount to be ~~expended on~~ used for this rite. Schooner himself had $200.00 to expend for the purpose which ~~would have~~ been sufficient, and his attitude was that he neither knew nor cared whether ~~would~~ his relatives would assist him. Soon after the other chiefs had left, Reuben Schooner arrived from the logging-camp from which he had been summoned. Father and son discussed arrangements not only for the actual interment, a simple matter, but for the memorial potlatch. It was decided that the dead woman should return as a composite figure consisting of Eagle, Raven, and Black-fish, three of her kwaltinta of which the masks were available. They agreed that Timothy Snow (2) was the best carpenter available and that he should be commissioned to put ~~them~~ them in shape and arrange their use. Reuben wanted to sing a sisack mourning song, to which he had a prerogative derived from his Bella Bella mother, and it was also decided that the band should play. Reuben informed his father that he would contribute $60.00 towards the expenditure. ~~Meanwhile Jessie had been washed by her female friends and clad in her~~ (3)

~~best~~ (1). None of these were closely related to the Schooner family.
(2). He was not closely related to the Schooners.
(3). Most of the younger Bella Coola were members of the band, performing white man's music on white man's instruments. Andy Schooner was band-master, but it is unlikely that this influenced the decision, since the performance of the band was customary at funerals when the writer was present in Bella Coola.

Meanwhile Jessie had been washed by her female friends, ~~and~~ clad in her best clothing and laid in her coffin. This was a rough box, contributed by the manager of the cannery and shaped like a white man's coffin. At intervals, women came near and wailed dolorously without heeding others similarly engaged. ~~without any systematized arrangement.~~ The news was carried to all the Bella Coola, those men who owned gasoline launches taking the word to the logging-camps without being requested to do so. A Carrier Indian who happened to be returning from the cannery spread the word through the village, ~~as~~ where each woman who received the message ~~she~~ hurried off to some friend with whom she began to wail.

Early on the morning of the 28th. Captain Schooner returned home with his wife, Jessie's step-mother. He had been crying and was sad, but seemed willing to talk. He spoke of the proposed memorial potlatch, and expressed the sentiments recorded on page 1719. He was grave and dignified, absolutely determined to perform what he considered to be the necessary ritual, oblivious of consequences, and heedless of what he held to be an unjust law. During that summer, Captain Schooner had been a rather heavy drinker, but on this occasion he abstained from ~~liquor~~ ~~wine~~ and said that he hoped no one would show disrespect to his daughter by appearing in a drunken condition either at the funeral or the subsequent ~~memorial potlatch~~ rites. It is worthy of record that his wishes were ~~absolutely~~ scrupulously obeyed. During the morning he was visited by the singers and other chiefs to discuss details of the coming ceremonial.

Meanwhile Samuel King had been summoned from his logging-camp. He wished to show his own grief, ~~to a fault~~, and also his sorrow that the union between his family and the Schooners, formed by his marriage to Jessie, should be terminated. No children had been born to ~~do~~ correct ~~this.~~ ~~it~~ the bond. He consulted his brother and sister who agreed with him that a marriage between his daughter, by a former wife, and George Nelson would be desirable. The girl was consulted and raised no objections. Samuel then addressed Captain Schooner who was favourably disposed, ~~George was also agreeable,~~ so it was decided that this ceremony should take place in connection with the memorial potlatch. It would be a real, not a fictitious marriage, as the girl had reached adolescence several years previously.

Another visitor to Captain Schooner that morning was Joe Williams. Several

years previously, when he had given a ceremony in honour of two of his children who had died, Captain Schooner had contributed $100.00 as "A Blanket for George Nelson's Wife." This was really part of the marriage transaction although deferred for a number of years after the actual time of the nuptials. This sum had been divided as follows:— $20.00 to Joe Williams; $20.00 to Mrs. Joe Williams; $10.00 to Mrs. George Nelson; $10.00 to her brother; $20.00 to Lame Charlie; and $20.00 to Mrs. Lame Charlie. Joe consulted the recipients and found that all were willing to repay their indebtedness at this time. Captain Schooner did not ask for it, but Joe was glad of the opportunity to do the proper thing at the right time and thus rise in popular estimation. He and his relatives decided to return $190.00, a sum which he mentioned to Captain Schooner that morning.

Joe Williams, his wife, and Mrs. George Nelson also decided to take advantage of the gathering to "re-buy" the last named from her husband. The fact that they had been separated for at least a year and that the woman had been living an immoral life did not alter the necessity of "re-buying" her "to make good the path" of her children. For this purpose they decided to give a copper and a sum of money; it was impossible to learn the exact amount. Joe told Captain Schooner of their intention.

About noon the body was brought in a canoe from the cannery in its closed coffin and lifted ashore at a convenient spot near the cemetery. Those manning the canoe were young men who happened to be at the cannery, irrespective of whether or not they were related to Jessie. The coffin was laid on a grassy place and Captain Schooner seated himself beside it. People were passing and repassing, some sat down for a time, then moved off to dinner. Occasionally, a woman would sit and wail, the most constant being Reuben's married daughter; Captain Schooner moved around talking to his friends amidst the eery wailing. About 1.30 P.M. everyone in the village had assembled, including a number of Carrier Indians, anxious to see the sight. Schooner withdrew to his house after asking Bobby Nebby to summon the chiefs to meet him there. The messenger, who thus acted as herald, went around

the gathering whispering to each; in addition to those notified at the cannery the preceding evening he called all the older and most influemtial Bella Coola, Albert King, Samuel King, Joe Williams, Joshua Hoody, Alec Davis, Lame Charlie, Judas, and Nebuchadnezzar. Captain Schooner requested the last named, an important chief, to take charge of the ceremony. At this time Samuel King told Nebuchadnezzar, who informed the others, what had been arranged for his daughter and they agreed that it was good. It was tacitly assumed that George Nelson would be delighted; probably he had been on friendly terms with the girl for some time. Joe Williams also told Nebuchadnezzar the two business propositions that he intended to carry out, the return of the money to Captain Schooner, and the 're-buying" of his daughter. Nebuchadnezzar informed the people concerned. At this meeting it was decided that various chiefs should speak after the Christian service at the grave.

Meanwhile the rest of the population was sitting near the coffin. They wore no special dress or other mark of grief. Samuel King and some of his relatives had brought bundles containing Jessie's clothing, pots, pans, and other personal possessions, which they set down near the coffin. About two o'clock the band gathered and began to play, the favourite selections being "Annie Laurie". This went on for some time after the return of the chiefs from Captain Schooner's house. They had decided that Tälio Jenny, one of Captain Schooner's distant relatives, should carry the fire in front of the body. When all was ready she lit a bundle of rags, placed it in a pot, and set off for the cemetery, followed by all in a straggling and orderless procession. Some strong young men bore the coffin, Jessie must have weighed over two hundred pounds; some brought tools for digging the grave; others took the bundles of clothing. There was no fixed allotment of tasks; a man or woman carried anything or nothing according to his or her wish.

The cemetery is situated about fifty yards behind the old village of Somqo'ts. The heavy timber has all been cut away and second growth has

sprung up everywhere except around the newer graves. Captain Schooner had decided that his daughter should be buried near several of her relatives, and it was to this spot that Jenny led the procession. She set the pot down near the site of the grave, and the coffin likewise was placed on the ground nearby. Captain Schooner, Jim Pollard and a few of the other old men chose the exact situation and a number of the young men began to dig. Jenny, and other women, added pieces of Jessie's clothing to the fire so that a constant small blaze was kept up. As the grave was being dug the band performed at intervals, while the women sat wailing near the fire. Other men and women were seated on the ground or walking around idly near the grave, talking but seldom laughing, while the Carriers were a little further away. Children were playing around. The grave was dug about five feet deep, in shape corresponding to the coffin but orientation was not carefully observed. Those wishing to dig took turns with the tools, there was no supervision, and no orders given. When the grave was ready, Jim Pollard asked Judas to perform the rite with the spruce bough, which he did with a branch brought by one of the youths. The young men lowered the coffin into the grave while the band continued to play. The missionary then read the Christian burial service, after which he withdrew. Some of the young men brought planks from ~~the~~ old

houses nearby, sawed them to the size of the grave and laid them over the coffin as a ~~sort of~~ cover. At this juncture Judas, one of the oldest and most conservative of the Bella Coola, rose to speak. First he offered consolation to the mourning relatives by pointing out that all must travel the same road. Then he spoke to Jessie, telling her not to linger, but to travel back the path of her ancestors from generation to generation until she reached the place where they first came down from above, ~~and from~~ thence to ascend to Nusmät'a. It was impossible to obtain a literal translation of the speech, which was punctuated by calls of "Yo··" from the male Bella Coola. The next speaker was Jim Pollard, the most influential Kimsquit and a personal friend, though not a relative, of Captain Schooner's.

"Go," he said to the dead woman, "Go to the ~~xpark~~ localities from which came your first forefathers in the beginning of time. There you will find your most valuable ancestral possessions. Go at once, do not linger and lose yourself on the road from generation to generation."

Turning to George Nelson, he went on, "Do not be down-hearted, all of us must travel the same road. It was made by no man, it is the work of Älquntäm."

Looking back once more to the grave, he said, "In Qomqo'ts are buried many illustrious relatives of yours. You will be among friends, whereas we are left to lament your departure."

Itx was impossible to write down the words at the time and the above record is not probably literally correct, although it expresses the gist of the speech.

Captain Schooner ~~Schooner~~ whispered to Robert Hood, another of the older Bella Coola asking him to announce that he, Schooner, with Dan and George, was going to hold a memorial potlatch that evening to which all were invited. Robert is not a herald but undertook this duty owing to the absence of qualified heralds. ~~in Bella Coola at the present time.~~ Meanwhile the grave had been filled in and the people began to drift away as it rose to ground level. Their attitude throughout had resembled that of white people at a funeral and the hilariousness that characterizes so many Bella Coola gatherings was entirely absentx except among the playing children. By 4.30 P.M. all had left the scene.

In view of the large number of guests expected it had been decided to hold the memorial potlatch, not in one of the old-fashioned houses, but in the village hall, built according to the white man's style of architecture and illuminated with swinging gasoline lamps. ~~The~~ It is a large, rectangular building, undivided by partitions, with a stage at one end and a door at the other. About 6.30 P.M. the singers, Nebuchadnezzar, Jim Pollard, Billy Pollard, Alec Davis, Kimsquit Alec, and Robert Hood gathered at the hall and seated themselves below the stage. Billy Pollard had ~~composed~~ prepared a mourning song during the day, Kimsquit Alec another, and it was decided to use two others that were well known to all. ~~For several hours~~ The singers sat and practised these four for some time while at intervals various Bella Coola strolled in, listened for a few minutes, ~~and~~ then walked out again. Anyone was allowed to do so, but few availed themselves of the opportunity. Meanwhile Captain Schooner had brought $10.00 worth of rice and placed it beside a huge iron cauldron outside the front door. Jim To-Morrow, a Bella Coola of no great intelligence, volunteered to act as cook and soon had a fire blazing and the food boiling.

About 8.00 P.M. the people began to assemble, bringing their own plates and other utensils. After considerable delay and chatter the guests took their places in the hall, seating themselves ~~without consideration for~~ regardless of rank on benches ranged along the two side walls and massed at the rear ~~of the house~~. By mutual consent a portion of the single row of benches along the left wall was left for the Carriers and other foreigners. The cook began to ladle the rice into basins provided by Captain Schooner; these were ~~taken~~ handed by some of the younger men who poured helpings into the dishes of the guests. Spoons had been forgotten, and there was delay until these were provided by slivers split from a block of wood for the purpose. Contrary to ancient usage, no attempt was made to serve food to the guests in order of their rank. Men, and women and children were sitting everywhere, while the ~~infants kept~~ moving around and crying ~~repeatedly~~ continually throughout the performance, which seemed to disturb no one thereby.

When everyone had eaten, Nebuchadnezzar, who had been ~~sitting~~ seated facing the other singers, beat on the floor to attract attention and then rose to speak. He asked the help of all to make the ceremony a success, and ~~thereby to~~ thus assuage the grief of the

bereaved relatives.

Joe Williams and his daughter had taken their places on the right hand side of the hall and had requested Willie Mack, a fluent speaker and influential chief, to assist them in announcing the financial transactions. They spread a blanket on the floor on which the bills were counted, and beside ~~which~~ this Willie knelt. Joe gave him a sum of money, which was counted and recounted; ~~and which~~ Willie then held it up in the vain hope that it could be seen by everyone in the hall. He announced the amount, ~~and~~ also that it was to "rebuy" (the divorced) Mrs. George Nelson from her late husband, and that it would "make clean the place where she sat." A young man delivered ~~xxxxxxxxx~~ the money to George, Next a copper was produced, held up, and ~~delivered~~ presented to ~~George~~ him for the same purpose as the money. ~~The copper was later thrown on the ground over which walked the representation of the de-~~ ~~ceased in her form of her kwalt ata, the money was~~ added who it to the general stock for later distribution.

~~And~~ Meanwhile Joe, assisted by his mother and other relatives, had been counting the money which they proposed to give to Captain Schooner in settlement of the previously contracted debt. $130.00 was produced and given to Willie Mack who held it up and announced that it was in return for the ~~money~~ $100.00 given by Captain Schooner on a previous occasion to Joe Williams, his wife, his son, his daughter, his mother and his step-father. The bills were taken by one of the younger men to Captain Schooner who accepted them without showing either gratitude or the reverse; its return was a matter that concerned the Williams family, not the Schooners. After a short delay, Billy Pollard moved over to the group and spoke to Joe and Willie Mack, to whom he gave $10.00. The latter announced that this sum, which he held up, and a horse, which was not produced, were being given to George Nelson to "rebuy" his (divorced) wife. Billy is not related to the woman, but had long been friendly and wished to share in making good the path for her children. This matter had not been previously broached. The choice of Willie Mack as announcer was made merely because he was a fluent speaker and, as a chief, had the necessary self-confidence to act ~~fittingly, appropriately~~ ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~

After these preliminaries, the main rite was begun. Jim Pollard, ~~a fluent~~ an eloquent ~~speaking~~ chief unrelated to any of the principals, spoke at some length describing the journey taken by Jessie to visit the scenes of her ancestral myths. He was followed by a Bella Bella chief who happened to be in Bella Coola at the time. ~~After~~ In the Chinook jargon he ~~expressing~~ expressed his sympathy and

~~1731~~

respect for Captain Schooner because he was carrying out the fitting rites, ~~he~~ their asked leave to speak in Bella Bella because ~~it was~~ he found it difficult to express himself ~~only~~ in Chinook. He described the journey which the deceased had taken owing to her membership in the ancestral family of her mother, a Bella Bella woman. No one paid much attention to the speeches, in fact, it was impossible (to hear what was said at the back of the hall) owing to the chattering and crying of children.

After considerable delay, the singers decided it was time to sing the first mourning song. It had never before been used, although the composer, Billy Pollard, had prepared it several years earlier and had merely altered ~~xxxxxxxxx~~ the words, after consulting Captain Schooner about his ancestral myths during the morning. The singers had learnt text and tune during the rehearsal a few hours ~~xxxxxxx~~ before. It was impossible to record it in detail; ~~although~~ in outline, it consisted of the words:-

"Child, you are an eagle now. You are like Xencua.(1) He will prdvide an eagle cloak for you."

~~It~~ The theme was continued throughout as if Captain Schooner were speaking and lamenting his daughter. At intervals the phrase was repeated, "My child has fled home." The leader of the singers, Jim Pollard in this case, kept calling out to the audience to cry, and sing, and as many of them joined in as had come in earlier to listen to the words. The whole effect was strikingly dignified and impressive.

Captain Schooner joined the singers for the second mourning song since he alone was familiar with the details of the ancestral myth which formed the theme. In former times a bereaved parent would never have ~~s~~ been forced to assist in this way. Kimsquit Alec had composed the tune during the day and Billy Pollard called out the words, line by line, inviting the guests to join in. The theme consisted of instructions to Jessie:

"Go, " it ran, "to the mountain whither Qeit (2) came. Thence travel to the Skeena where you will assume the form of a whale and be able to spout like one.(3) Go then to the far north where you will enter the copper house within which dwells a copper ra-

(1). One of the first settlers of the earth, an ancestor of Jessie.
(2). Another of her first ancestors.
(3). One of Jessie's first ancestors had landed on the Skeena and there assumed the form and ~~capabilities~~ characteristics of a whale.

ven and where the salmon are taitaimx. (1)."

"This song was sung in the manner already described.

"The third mourning-song was one composed during the small-pox epidemic for a Tăl'ic chief, Smaoɛxɛk, who had lost his daughter. Its use was justifiable since Smaoɛxɛk was Jessie's mother's mother's mother's brother. It had a double significance since the dead woman's mother had allowed it to be used when lamenting the death of a brother of Samuel King, a member of the same ancestral family. Captain Schooner had altered the words to make them applicable to the present situation. The theme was:

"Please stop crying. We have made good your memory. You are a light to your brother. Go to Smaoɛxɛk where he stands among the abalone shells far to the south. (2) thence go overland to Rivers Inlet where a Skămtak will serve as canoe for you. (3) You will see the long house where you ancestor obtained shaman's power." (4)

Meanwhile Reuben Schooner had been out of sight behind the curtain of the stage. After a short interval, he emerged wearing a blue blanket decorated with mother-of-pearl buttons sewn on in raven design. He was followed by two other influential members of the sisaok society, Alexander Clallaman and Nebuchadnezzar, similarly attired. Reuben began to sing in a low, sad, penetrating voice of considerable musical power and, followed by the other two, walked slowly in a sunwise circle around the hall all the time shaking his right hand, which he held projecting at right angles outwards from his elbow. The song was in Bella Bella and even the singer did not fully understand the meaning, while few of the audience had any idea of its significance. When the three had almost completed the first circuit, someone brought Reuben a rattle, which he clutched this in his right hand as he continued his way. the reason of the shaking at once became evident; he should have had a rattle throughout but few of these were left in Bella Coola at the time and it had not been possible to borrow one before beginning his song. Again the three slowly circled the hall, Alexander and Nebuchadnezzar calling out at intervals:

"Listen to the mourning song of the chief."

(1). An incident in one of Jessie's ancestral myths.
(2). " " " " " " " "
(3). " " " " " " " "
(4). " " " " " " " "

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After the second circuit of the hall, ~~Hmmmmgar~~ Reuben paused near the singers and spoke to Alec Davis, a sisaok siki. The latter rose and stated how the prerogative of siki, including the right to sing, unaccompanied, a mourning song on occasions such as this had been transmitted both to Reuben and his brother Harry from Ao'sti, a Bella Bella chief to whom they were related through their mother. After a little further discussion, Harry took the rattle from his brother and began to sing as he walked around the hall followed by Alexander and Nebuchadnezzar. Harry was less familiar than his brother with the words of the song ~~and~~ but supplied this deficiency by humming. He was also less at ease, and ~~his singing~~ he lacked the musical ability which had made his brother's ~~performance~~ singing so impressive. After a single circuit, he restored the rattle to Reuben who continued to circle the hall as he sang. This time he paused at intervals, ~~and~~ and kept glancing towards the door, ~~It was obvious~~ his whole attitude betraying that something was interfering with the previously arranged plans. The ~~function~~ purpose of the singing was to summon the dead woman in the form of her kwaltlnta, ~~and~~ but she did not appear. In early times those who were not sisack were ~~taught~~ told that the words and music penetrated to the upper regions, ~~where~~ reminding the ~~dead person was thereby reminded~~ deceased of the grief of ~~her~~ his ~~crowing~~ ~~plotmaking~~ him to relatives, and returned ~~to visit them.~~ This belief had passed away at the time of the ceremony here described, but the fiction was continued, and it had been planned that the representation of the deceased should enter when the song was finished. It later transpired that the delay was due to a number of white people who, having gathered at the door-way, made the performers unwilling to put on ~~their~~ his masks and disguises. Reuben continued to sing half-heartedly, and finally cried out:

"Perhaps I have lost my power, it does not come."

Alec Davis, who had previously left the ~~ha~~ hall, came rushing in and called out in a loud voice:

"Qomotla (Jessie's ancestral name and the one in connection with which she had been made a chief) is coming. She has been to the scenes of her ancestral myths. Her kwaltlata have taken her. She comes as Eagle, Raven and Black-fish, bearing ~~with her~~ her grandchild."(1)

The speaker is a morose, rather surly individual, usually undignified and often drunk, but on this occasion his manner had changed in a remarkable degree. His eyes were

(1). Although not yet dead, all hope had been abandoned for the child's recovery.

bright, his expression animated and, except for his dirty European clothing, he looked and acted like a religious dignitary taking part in an important ceremony, ~~as~~ was indeed the case. While he was speaking there came from without the eery notes of ~~sounds made with~~ large, cone-shaped whistles, combined with the yelping squeal of an eagle. The effect, even on an audience which knew ~~that~~ these sounds ~~were~~ of human origin, was tremendous. Men and women stiffened in their seats and craned their necks to see what was taking place near the door. A number of the younger men had slipped away during Reuben's singing to help the masked dancer with his disguise. As some of these assistants continued to blow their whistles, others held up blankets to conceal the necessarily clumsy entrance of the ~~masked figure~~ performer through the narrow doorway.

These were dropped after a moment, and out into the centre of the open hall bounded a figure covered with a large white sheet so that ~~the~~ only ~~part of his body visible were~~ were visible. his bare feet. On his head was an eagle mask, from the upper part of his back projected a black-fish, while the face of a raven peered forth from his chest. The dancer, Timothy Snow, who had been chosen for his skill in such matters, leapt forward in a crouching attitude and took a few short, mincing steps as if he ~~had been~~ were a gigantic eagle hopping on the ground. At once the older Bella Coola women began to drone out, "i.....", and which continued as long as the performer remained in the hall. He bent down and turned slowly, sunwise, with arms pressed close to his body and neck contracted, then straightened, and took a few more mincing steps, followed by another turn. In this way he moved in a wide, sunwise circle around the hall, avoiding the middle where there would have been a fire in one of the old-fashioned ~~types of~~ houses. At intervals he raised himself on his toes and slightly spread his arms, beneath the sheet, at the same time looking up, so that it appeared as if the eagle were rising to gaze at an object in the distance as a sitting bird does so frequently. This brought the raven mask into plain sight. After a survey of this kind, he bent down and ran a few yards more. Alec Davis and two other Tsaoak followed the actor, blowing eagle down over him repeatedly. After one circuit of the hall, the performer passed out through the front door from the vicinity of which was once more heard the large whistles and the yelping of the eagle, both growing less distinct audible in intensity as if the bird were flying away.

The wearer of the mask displayed considerable dramatic talent and succeeded in gi-

ving a realistic display in spite of the glaring lights which ~~betrayed~~ exposed his bare feet and ~~exposed~~ betrayed the human handicraft of the masks in a manner impossible in the native type of house with a single, central fire as the sole illumination. The Carriers had watched the performance with interest, probably tinged with contempt, ~~but~~ through to the Bella Coola it was no mere spectacle, ~~it was~~ but a religious rite of the highest importance. All of the spectators realised that the figure was human, but this seemed inconsequential as they gazed upon the representation of the dead woman in the form of her kwaɬtɩnta, to which they believed she had been transformed by death. Even the children were silent and the only sound during the passage was the wailing of a sleepy infant. The eagle kwaɬtɩnta belonged to Jessie by virtue of membership in the ancestral family descended from her father's first ancestor, traced patrilineally, who had come to earth at Tɛmotɬ in the form of this bird. The blackfish was a kwaɬtɩnta acquired through her mother; the raven represented a copper raven belonging to an ancestral myth of the dying grandchild. In former times, carpenters would have worked for weeks preparing an elaborate composite figure, but Captain Schooner wished no delay in the ceremony for fear of police interference, so that it was necessary to use what masks happened to be in existence and to place them in association by means of the crude white sheet. Jessie had not been initiated into the sɩsaok society, but no objection was raised to the use of sɩsaok whistles both on account of her status as chief, and owing to the influence of her father who, a numitɬ chief, feared no restrictions and heeded no conventions. Besides, both certain her brothers were influential sɩsaok. In former times it is that objections would have been raised to this breach of ceremonial privileges.

There was a pause for several minutes after the withdrawal of the figure. Then taken by Reuben ~~and George Nelson each~~ threw a copper on the floor in the track the actor "to make bone for the dead woman." A number of chiefs went forward to join the singers and debate whether or not the ~~the~~ copper should be redeemed. No one wished to do so, so Captain Schooner said he would have it fastened to a post over Jessie's grave, a proposition to which all agreed.

After interminable discussion in which Captain Schooner, Nebuchadnezzar, Reuben Schooner, Jim Pollard and Alec Davis took the principal parts, it was decided to sing

the fourth mourning song at this point. There was no reason why this should not have been done at the customary time, after the other three, but wide latitude in detail was allowed in this ceremony; in fact, exact ritual never flourished in Bella Coola and has become increasingly rare in recent years. This song ~~was one~~ had been composed a number of years previously when Captain Schooner had called in the Bella Bella to a memorial potlatch, and great care had been expended on its composition owing to the skill of the guests in songs of this type. The words, altered to fit the circumstances, were phrased as if George and Dan were lamenting the loss of their mother and other relatives.

"I, we," they ran, "are thinking of our mother, our brothers, our sisters, our mother's brothers, our mother's sisters, our father's brothers, our father's sisters, of all ~~xhx~~ our dead relatives. Please, ye chiefs from abroad, turn your heads, listen to our wail. You revered great ones, let us all cry together. It is we who have called you hither; look upon us."

This song was sung in the manner already described, except that more of the Bella Coola were familiar with words and tune and could accordingly join in.

Meanwhile Captain Schooner, with his sons Reuben and Harry and his grandsons George Nelson and Andy Schooner, had been ~~been~~ crouching in a corner of the hall, poring over the money which was to be distributed to validate the ceremony, and deciding how to divide it. Harry Schooner is neither dominant nor capable, and Andy acted only as clerk, so the actual decision rested with Captain Schooner, Reuben and ~~Rxxx~~ George. Daniel Nelson would normally have played a prominent part, but he was absent owing to the illness of his infant daughter. Samuel King joined the group, bringing with him two coppers, two rifles, and a sum of money, and whispered ~~xhxkxhxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ the purpose of this contribution.

After the usual pause, George Nelson and Captain Schooner, the latter subsituting for the absent Dan Nelson, stood up and walked around the hall carrying ~~on their shoulders~~ three coppers and two rifles. Then they returned to their places.

Nebuchadnezzar had been asked by Captain Schooner to act as announcer on account of his good voice and self confidence. He joined the group in the corner to call out whatever they whispered to him. First he announced that one of the coppers just displayed had been given to George Nelson to "rebuy" from him his wife, Joe Williams' daughter. He explained that the other two, as well as the rifles, were presents from Samuel King, assis-